[Inner Horde]

614 619 601 where part of the gifts were made over to the chief of the Alim-uli. The reasons given by Kharuzin for clan [177.61] decline generally, as part of the acculturation picture, are: administrative changes imposed by the Russians, the growth of sedentary agriculture, and the consequent loss of nomadic pastoralism.[240]

43 561 The lineage was the exogamic unit in the 1880's, and leadership of the lineage passed to the eldest son. However, it might rest temporarily with the first or senior wife until the eldest son came of age; here again seniority was operative, among the wives as well as among the sons.[241] There is regrettably no indication of the number of generations in establishing an exogamic unit among the Kazakhs of the Inner Horde.

565 The standard composition of the noble estate is: the ak sŭök descended from Chingis Khan, and the Islamic leaders among the Kazakhs, called Khodja. They were [177.56] formerly free from tax and tribute, but with the advent of the Russians were so no longer. However, they were not subject to the judgments of the biis, and hence had a kind of legal immunity. The other component of the white bone was the Khodja, i.e., Kazakhs who, by a genealogical fiction, traced their descent from Mohammed.[242]

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[240] Kharuzin, op. cit., cols. 45-47.

[241] Ibid., 110.

[242] Ibid., 47-52.

1A [cf. cat. 11b, AHI Mongolia, p. 496 ff. -- Analyst]

595

Kazakh men may take more than one wife for many reasons, perhaps to gain the prestige of numerous wives, or because the first wife has not borne a son. A barren or sonless wife may be divorced and sent back to her family. The fortunate woman who has borne a son is endowed with property which is hers to hold in trust for her minor children. Should the mother of a son be widowed, she is a free agent and may remarry or not, as she pleases and whom she pleases. If a widow has no children or has only daughters, she may be forced into leviratic marriage (i.e., marriage with the brother of her deceased husband). If she has only daughters, her family may be broken up at the death of the husband.

586 593 589 [587]

It is in the light of these various changes in rights and statuses that the marriage is seen as pointing to the bearing of sons. There is great joy at the birth of a son, for thereby is the continuation of the line assured, and thereby is the marriage fulfilled.

581

The leviratic marriage is actually a form of social insurance, for thus does the Kazakh society take care of those families without a male head. The position of the conjugal family within the framework of the extended family is shown by this practice. A woman weds not her husband but her husband's family; when she marries her husband, she potentially marries her husband's brother. The marriage arrangements are made between the families, and the partners involved are not consulted. The line of the family flows not only through the husband but through his brother, and through all the close kin in the male line within the family. In medieval times, the son among both Turks and Mongols also married the widows of the deceased father other than his own mother,[1] but this form of marriage is now taboo.[2]

587 596 [581]

Within the extended family, and among close kinsmen generally, no one has his exact equal in status. The first basis for differentiation is the generation to which one belongs, the second is the order of birth, the third is chronological age. The age criterion is the least reliable and the least used, but it is there. Kazakh brothers and sisters are ranked according to order of birth, and treat one another with authority or with respect accordingly. Cousins are likewise ranked according to the order of birth of their fathers. The second son of the elder brother does not necessarily take precedence over the elder son of the second brother, however; here complicating factors come in, such as the chronological ages of the cousins in question. If there is a wide disparity in age, then the older cousin takes precedence regardless of birth order. A Kazakh treats his older brother as he does his father's younger brother, and his older sisters as he does his father's younger sisters. He calls them by the same terms and acts toward them in a similar fashion.[3]

596 [561] [593] [606]

Authority and respect tend to follow similar lines outside the family, in the village, clan, and khanate. These latter authority relations are modeled on the paternal, in a way similar to the Chinese, the Japanese, the Roman and South Slavic societies. In considering these parallels,

[593] 642 171

[1] Bichurin, 1950, p. 230.
[2] Grodekov, 1889, p. 29.
[3] Ivanitsov, 1897, p. 11.